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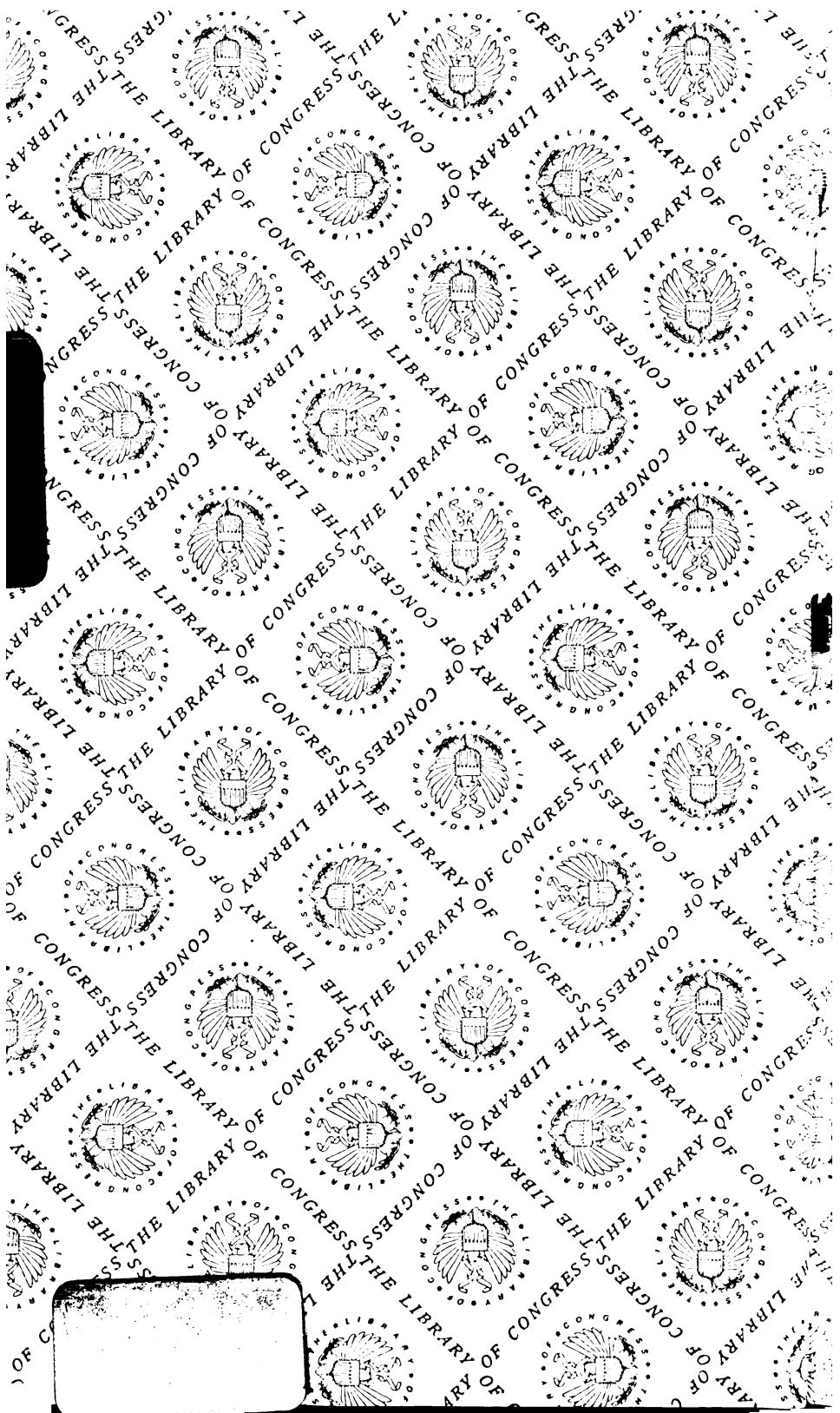
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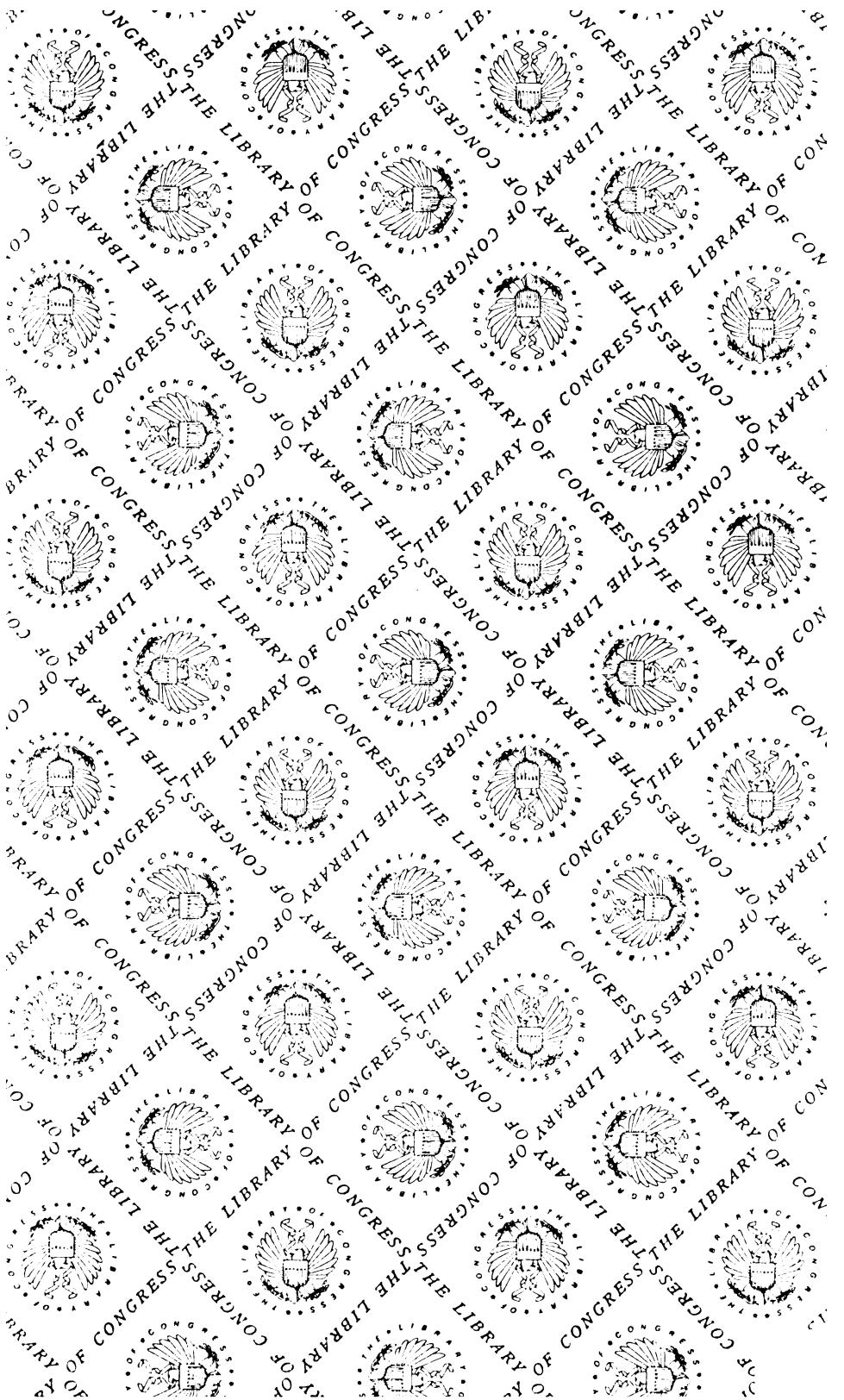
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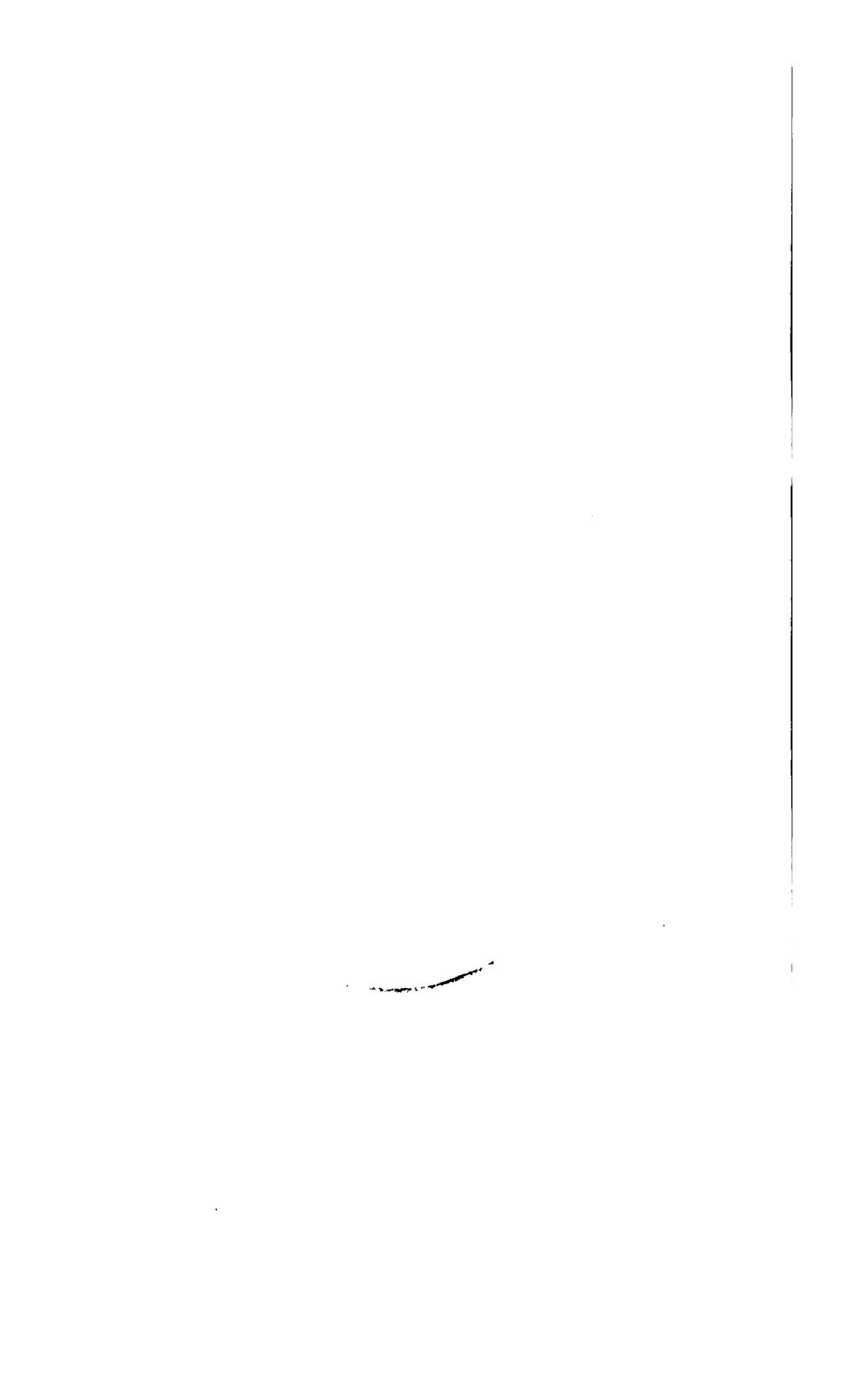
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CONFERENCE OF NEUTRAL NATIONS

HEARING

U. S. Congress. Senate. ^{BEFORE THE}

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

RELATING TO

CONFERENCE OF NEUTRAL NATIONS

JANUARY 13, 1916

Printed for the use of the Committee on Military Affairs



WASHINGTON
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1916

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CONFERENCE OF NEUTRAL NATIONS.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS,
Washington, D. C., Thursday, January 13, 1916.

The committee met in room 226, Senate Office Building, at 3.30 o'clock p. m., Senator George E. Chamberlain (chairman), presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen of the Committee, and Ladies and Gentlemen: The Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate has been called together at the request of some of our good friends, the ladies, to hear Miss Jane Addams discuss some of the questions that we are all very much interested in now, and we will be pleased to hear from her.

Miss ADDAMS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

STATEMENT OF MISS JANE ADDAMS.

Miss ADDAMS. I am here representing The Woman's Peace Party of America, an organization that is composed of women of all of the States, but I think in a real sense our organization represents a great many other women who are not members of the party, because we find throughout the United States a sense that there should not be this proposition in Congress to so rapidly increase the appropriations for naval and military affairs. Many of us feel that it is done simply to accommodate ourselves to the situation in Europe; that is, that we have, without knowing it, fallen in something of a panic. We have been caught in a certain agitation which is more or less growing around the world; but if we think quietly and dispassionately we will discover that we are just about as we were about 5 or 10 years ago. We are in no greater danger now than we were then, and at this time I wish, with your kind permission, to bring to your attention three or four points.

First, at the present moment nobody knows what the outcome of the war will be. It is quite possible that when the terms of peace are made, one of the propositions will be a proportionate disarmament. It is practically impossible that the nations can continue at their present state of armament. The nations will be very much exhausted, and there will be very little solicitude about military glory, and there is no doubt some sort of a proposition will be made possible looking toward a proportionate disarmament. If we wait until final terms of peace have been arranged, then the United States could, with much more deliberation and much more advantage in the situation, determine whether we wanted to increase our own military establishments. If we decide now, in the present unsettled condition of affairs, that we want to increase our military forces, I believe that we should be very unwise. Let the United States increase its armament, and we will hear immediately that the other nations consider

that they must do likewise. It would, for instance, influence Japan. We hear in the papers every day talk of our proposed increases, and similar talk of increases in Japan. It seems to me that other nations must feel that they will be required to meet our preparations in that direction, by increases in their own naval and military forces. The theory behind our proposed military preparations is that we want peace. We seek peace before we know what peace is going to be, and we will not be able to go into a peace settlement with clean hands because we will have prejudged the matter in these elaborate preparations we have been making for military and naval preparedness. We are very anxious, therefore, and we pray that the Military Affairs Committee will postpone this consideration of the proposed increase until after the terms of settlement have been made.

Then, we also feel very strongly that before the proposed increases are made, there should be some separate commission—a congressional commission—appointed to look into the present expenditure of the Army and Navy. This commission should be appointed to look into just such matters as we now have before us, and it is quite possible that they might find that the Army and Navy at present meet all the requirements. We are all anxious that this commission should be appointed, and be able to assure the people that the money being now appropriated is most efficiently spent before any other appropriations are made. If this commission could report within six months, it is quite possible that we might discover that these great plans for military and naval increases are all unnecessary. I believe there are conditions in the Middle West, in Chicago particularly, where I live, where we are not as eager for military preparedness now as we were a month or six weeks ago; that our sober senses are showing us that we have been unduly alarmed.

Then we feel that if we should delay these matters for a while, we will discover that conditions on the other side of the world, which seem to so alarm us to-day, will have disappeared. It is quite possible, and indeed not without the realm of probability, that the German Navy and the English Navy will have destroyed each other before the war is over; and, in that case, we would have, automatically, the first Navy in the world instead of the third; and it is quite possible that they will have no desire or idea of attacking us at any time. No one is attacking that great big English Navy within two hundred miles of the coast of Belgium. This Navy is not doing anything to defend that coast, because it is defended by mines. That, in itself, demonstrates the absolute waste of money in building these enormous war vessels. I must agree with the working people—and I know how the practical working people feel about this matter and their feeling against this first step towards militarism. I know how anxious the working people are to be rid of this burden of militarism. There is an old saying that in these military countries the peasant goes to work with a soldier tied on his back. There is some truth in that. He has to support himself and a soldier. These people have left their native countries and have come here to what they considered a free government, seeking freedom from this burden of militarism. It seems to these people that, having left Europe to come to this country, they are now being taken a step back into militarism again. They are facing traditions which they supposed belonged to the Old World which they were leaving.

We realize that all the talk that is being made is along the line of defense, but, at the present moment, you can not have a war unless it is called a war of defense. There is not a country in the world that will stand for aggressive war. When we were in Europe we found each of the nations claiming that their war was a war of defense. Germany said that Russia had mobilized and had threatened them with invasion, and they were defending themselves against Russia. France, of course, is obviously defending herself, and England is defending her interests. They all are fighting wars of defense; at least public sentiment has come to the point where no country can declare a war of aggression without great danger to itself; and so they each say theirs is a war of defense, because only in that way can they keep peace with their people. Of course, I know that all these preparations are made on the theory that they are necessary as a matter of defense. Everybody is urging it as a matter of defense, but they could not call it anything else. We know, of course, that as to France, one gentleman has said that if France had a large army to defend itself against Germany she would be secure; but one can very easily see that that situation is very different from our situation in America, with oceans on both sides; that if we had a war with Canada, our situation there would be very different from the case with France. If we had countries on either side of us, as France has, of course there might be some analogy; but there is no possible analogy between our situation here in the United States and the situation in France, and it seems to me and to many of us, that that can not be urged as an excuse for these elaborate preparations. It is something like a man who lives in Nebraska buying a fire extinguisher because there has been a large fire in New York. The two things have nothing to do with each other. In all of this talk the situation is always hypothetical—that we should get ready for a hypothetical enemy, and spend thousands of dollars, and place this burden on our people, because of the hypothetical enemy that may never materialize. This whole situation seems to me to be a matter purely of emotion. I do not like to call men emotional, but it seems to me that the men are more emotional in this matter than are the women of this country. I think the women are much slower to move toward war than men. They are the mothers of the soldiers, and they have many reasons to be slow before urging war or preparedness for war. I realize, of course, however, that the women are more or less divided upon that subject; but I believe that at this moment the great majority of the women are holding back from this talk of preparation for a possible war.

We suggested the other day to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House that if it seemed likely that we should be drawn into a war on the Pacific side of the United States the thing to do would be to appoint a committee which would possibly join with a similar commission appointed by China and Japan, to look into the situation and find out what was to be feared on that score, and what was our danger there, instead of asking for more ships in order to control the Pacific because some time or other in the future we might have difficulties with the Orient. I would suggest the same thing in regard to other matters which might possibly lead to war. There is the question of the aliens. In Louisiana some Italians were lynched, and we almost got into difficulty with the Italian Government; and

there is the possibility of what Japan might consider as unjust treatment of its citizens in California. I would suggest in that connection, in reference to the aliens, that the Federal Government should not allow the States to legislate concerning aliens. That would remove that great subject of war. That was recommended by our organization, and it seems to me it was very sound advice, and that there are many things of like character which could be done before we rush into these enormous expenditures for increases in our military preparations.

Then we feel, also, particularly the young people, in reference to the attitude of the world, that the world at this moment is moving, instead of to war, toward a better organization. It may be that the court of The Hague has not been wholly satisfactory, but it certainly was a wonderful step in the right direction. There are evidences of various breaks from the past which after the war will perhaps be brought together and put in order; and if the United States decides now that it is going in for the military side rather than for that for which it has stood for many years, it has prejudged the situation. Instead of going into conference with the nations and saying, "We stand for this thing, and have stood for it for more than a hundred years; we have adjudicated our difficulties with South America and England," are we going to declare ourselves in favor of militarism? Is it not better to do that, and say that "We shall never use force except in extreme necessity; we insist upon some sort of an adjudication first." It would have a tremendous influence all over the world, because we will be almost the only people of any size who will not have suffered severely by the end of the war. The populations of the countries at war will be decimated and decreased. If we say, "We do not believe in that; we are going to be prepared; we are going to look at life with that old-fashioned European point of view," I think we will make a big mistake. I think that this country can well afford to spend time on its old principles. It is time now to throw them out to the world, and to announce to the world just where we stand in this matter.

I do not wish to say anything more, beyond the fact that we have been told that it is the tendency of the world to move away from the old-fashioned military organizations; that the present movement in Europe is in that direction; that the men most valuable to the armies in this war—and this was said by most of the countries at war—were such men as aviators, machinists, etc., that these men were more valued than the old-fashioned trained soldiers. They are much more valued than the men who have been carefully drilled. They are not drilling now. They are in the trenches, doing work quite different from drilling. The old-fashioned military ideas which have obtained for so long are missing, even in this war.

I was in Berlin last summer and I met a soldier, one of the officers. He had on a gorgeous uniform, and I asked him in the way of conversation, whether that was his field uniform; and he laughed until the corridor echoed, and said, "I wish you could have seen my field uniform when I took it off. I had been lying down in it at the bottom of a wet, muddy trench with a field telephone in my hands, and when I got through with that the uniform was in such condition that I had to throw it away." He told me then that the uniform he had on was for dress parade, and that the old-fashioned soldier

was for dress parade, but not for the practical demands of the modern war. Now, just as the method of fighting has changed, just so the sentiment of the world is changing seriously.

There is one other point I wish to bring out. Getting ready for anything is the best way in the world to secure it. (Applause.) If we get ready for war it will surely come. We have some large boys' schools at home, and I have observed that we do not have a scrap among the boys unless the boys are equipped with brass knuckles and such articles in their pockets, and that whenever they have them, they are ready to scrap. And I think that is absolutely true with human nature; if you are not prepared, you use your energies toward trying to adjust conditions and adjudicate disputes. Just so it is with this question of war. If we are prepared with a large Army and Navy, of course it is the most natural thing in the world for us to find ourselves precipitated into a war. The preparedness policy has broken down in Europe. I think it was the Russian Foreign Minister who said only a few months before the war, that Europe was so heavily armed that something was due; the situation was such that if one country began to mobilize the whole aggregation would be drawn into war. And that is what happened. Russia mobilized and went to war about Servia and war was on, not because there was any necessity for it, but because Germany was armed and ready to go to war, and the other countries were armed and ready to go to war. I do not believe it is wise, considering our international relations, to lose this opportunity to seal our peace with the world; and I think we should take the steps that are suggested by this popular clamor, very carefully. I feel that I have been giving a lecture. I did not mean to do that. I simply want to bring the matter to your attention, and I should be very grateful now to have a question or two asked of me by the members of the committee if there is anything about this matter in regard to which they would like to have more information.

Senator FLETCHER. What would you recommend as to the Army and Navy?

Miss ADDAMS. That they be not increased at the present moment. And that this commission which I have suggested be appointed to look into the efficiency of present expenditures. And, further, that the commission be directed to find out who is responsible for much of the talk about preparedness, and then the country will have the facts before it in a shape that will enable them to decide the matter for themselves. We should hope that within six months our panic will have subsided, because we believe that it is more or less contagious. There is no enemy at our gates.

Senator FLETCHER. You were talking about a commission. You know, of course, there are quite voluminous reports issued by both the War Department and the Navy Department.

Miss ADDAMS. Yes, sir; of course I remember that.

Senator FLETCHER. Can you give any more information than what you have already given us?

Miss ADDAMS. Well, Mr. Chairman, we have, of course, a very good Department of Labor issuing reports on all sorts of labor questions, yet we established an industrial commission to go into the matter in quite a different way and from a different viewpoint. I mention that in connection with my suggestion as to this com-

mission. As the matter stands it would be like asking the Army and Navy to investigate themselves if we took their reports. It would not be so much of an investigation, gentlemen, as a sort of getting the house in order to find out what we had been doing; and this can not be done quite so well by the departments as through a commission appointed for that special purpose. I think every department naturally thinks it is running well, and every department is eager for appropriations, whether the Department of Agriculture or whatever it may be; but, from time to time it is well to have a commission look into the entire situation *de facto* and *de novo*.

Senator FLETCHER. You think it would be wise for us to assume that there will be a proportional disarmament among the countries now at war when the trouble is over?

Miss ADDAMS. Oh, I think most positively so. They can not possibly keep up their present armament. They will not have money enough or men enough. All of the men of the armies who are being killed are being buried in the ground, and there are not enough men to take their places. They can not keep up this tremendous army in Germany, for instance. They will be too bankrupt to keep up the large appropriations necessary to maintain such a large military establishment. They will just have to come to some sort of agreement looking to a decrease in the military establishments. As a matter of fact, they almost did that before the war. Great Britain and Germany had a semiofficial agreement as to the size of their navies two years before the war began. They will be driven into that sort of agreement after the war. There is no way out of it. I do not believe the people in this country really realize the desperate situation which exists over there. You can not take out of the country a million men and bury them without tremendously affecting the country in almost all of its affairs and without seriously crippling its industries.

Senator FLETCHER. From your experience over there did you come in contact with the people who are directly involved in the fighting? What did you find the sentiment to be?

Miss ADDAMS. Of course we made a greater effort to see the civil governments rather than the military, naturally. That is logical. In the first place, the military people are all on the field. We saw in every country the ministers of foreign affairs, and in every country but one the prime minister. They represent the civil point of view as well as the military point of view; and, while they all insisted that the war was inevitable and that they had been driven to it, that the enemy had made them fight, they all deprecated the war.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you succeed in accomplishing anything at the meeting at The Hague? Were the ladies and delegates there agreed as to what should be done by the different nations?

Miss ADDAMS. All we tried to do, Mr. Chairman, was to get out a set of resolutions looking to permanent peace. There were women there from 12 different nations. We could not go into the conduct of the war or the causes, but we had a very fine set of resolutions all looking toward the establishment of peace. They have been highly spoken of in European countries, and President Wilson said that it was the best series of resolutions he had seen up to that time. Of course we did not try to stop the war. That was all newspaper talk. We tried to create a fellowship among the women of the different nations. The women of the different countries, gentlemen, could not

s t a n d it any longer. I recall one woman in particular, from Australia. She made a very fine speech. She said she had never spoken in public, but that when she appeared there and discovered what we were trying to do she just could not refrain from voicing her protest against this war.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think any commission we might appoint would have any effect with the nations involved in the war?

Miss ADDAMS. I do not think any one nation could do it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think if the nations joined in any set of resolutions they would disregard them just as they have disregarded their treaty stipulations?

Miss ADDAMS. My idea of the conference would not be that they would make recommendations, but receive recommendations. At the present time there is no communication between the men in the different countries. There is a strict censorship of the press, and no postal service, and nobody really knows what the terms of peace really are—what Germany would accept and what England would accept. They keep on fighting in the dark. For instance, England says she will not stop fighting until every man is driven out of Belgium, and the Germans say they are going to fight to the bitter end.

The CHAIRMAN. You have seen the minimum claim of Great Britain, have you not?

Miss ADDAMS. That was for publication, was it not, to cheer the people up?

The CHAIRMAN. It is a terrible claim they make; whether there is any truth in it or not, of course, we do not know.

Miss ADDAMS. France, for instance, says they must put forth the maximum with which she will bargain.

Senator THOMAS. You made the statement a few moments ago, which seems to be well founded, when we consider the effect of the drastic war upon population and property, that the nations after the war will not be able to keep up the same armaments and armies of the same size as those which they had at the outbreak of war. Have you reflected that the Balkans, which entered upon a very severe war against Turkey in 1912, I think, immediately afterwards became involved in war between themselves, and an almost equally destructive war, and that in 1915 the Bulgarians, notwithstanding those two terrible decimations of their men and money, mobilized greater armies than in either one of the preceding wars?

Miss ADDAMS. Yes, sir; they put in boys and old men. This is the third war for Serbia. The young doctors and nurses and the young fighters they had tell us that Serbia is gone, that there is almost nothing left. A nation can do three wars if she is willing, but it means practical extermination.

Senator THOMAS. And it is also a fact that the Japanese Army and Navy as well as the Russian Army and Navy, at the outbreak of this present war, were much greater than they were when those two nations themselves engaged in the war of 1904 and 1905.

Miss ADDAMS. Yes, sir; but there was no such widespread killing in proportion to population. Russia, of course, is the most populous nation in Europe. There was no such proportion of loss to population then as has occurred in France and Germany at the present time. I have seen the figures somewhere. It is a very striking difference. Of course, Japan's losses were not so great. It was largely

naval and fortress work. Of course in those circumstances nations can recoup themselves, but this time it will probably take generations to recover. Children will have to be reared before they are large enough to be shot down.

Senator FLETCHER. Is it not likely that any country which is an important factor in this war will come out of the war with five or six million men well trained and equipped?

Miss ADDAMS. Yes; but absolutely disgusted with the war. I have talked with a great many soldiers in the hospitals about this situation, and I think that no one here realizes how they look at this thing. The women there brought them to our committee. They told us they were so awfully glad to have some one to talk to about it besides mothers and relatives. And there is among the younger men a great distaste for the war. They say that the young men do not believe in it, but that the old men do. That is the situation which exists over there to-day. The young men are more materialistic than sentimental. They feel that these things could be adjusted on some other basis, but the older men are talking war with great ferocity—with much greater ferocity than the young men. The old men are doing the shouting and the young men the fighting.

Senator FLETCHER. Suppose you had some kind of an arbitration board or council, that these nations might agree upon; suppose they should determine the matters submitted to them, how would you enforce their judgment or decree?

Miss ADDAMS. Our Woman's Peace Party and the peace people stand for what they call nonintercourse, which was first proposed by Mr. Justice Brewer, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and that is that the nation which would not accept the result of the arbitration should be cut off from postal service and commercial intercourse, etc.

Senator THOMAS. Boycott them, in other words?

Miss ADDAMS. Yes, sir.

Senator FLETCHER. An economic pressure of any kind would be effective, I suppose.

Miss ADDAMS. Yes, sir; and of course this is happening now.

The CHAIRMAN. But is not commercial greed so great that the nations which ought to assist in a boycott will want to make money so badly that they will not stand for the boycott?

Miss ADDAMS. Well, Germany is suffering from that now.

The CHAIRMAN. Not from a boycott, but from the fact that she is surrounded by hostile enemies.

Miss ADDAMS. Yes, sir; she is blockaded.

The CHAIRMAN. All of these wars are really induced by commercial greed. That is at the bottom of it all. Could you get the nations of the world to submit to laws to punish a recalcitrant nation?

Miss ADDAMS. Yes, sir; I think that if 53 nations should enter into this agreement, the loss to each one of these nations in the event they should boycott one nation would be very small; whereas the loss to the boycotted nation would be 53 times as great as the loss suffered by any one of the 53 boycotting nations. I think that must be apparent to every one.

Senator THOMAS. Would it not be like the famous gentlemen's agreement between the railroad men, made simply for public consumption, but quietly and secretly disregarded when necessary?

Miss ADDAMS. Not when treaties are made. The railroads did that in the good old days when the United States Interstate Commerce Commission did not publish their reports.

Senator THOMAS. I have never heard of a gentlemen's agreement which was not disregarded whenever convenient.

Miss ADDAMS. This is not a gentlemen's agreement. This is a matter of treaty.

Senator FLETCHER. Would you favor the exercise of force in case economic pressure did not accomplish the result?

Miss ADDAMS. This is a proposition, of course, looking to peace. You will recall that Mr. Taft advocated an international police. Personally, I think the decisions of the Supreme Court have not been enforced yet by troops.

Senator THOMAS. Yes; but they are not extraterritorial.

Miss ADDAMS. Yes; but when they first established the Supreme Court, Massachusetts would not use it. Was force employed in that instance?

Senator THOMAS. No.

Miss ADDAMS. Was force employed in Georgia—

Senator THOMAS (interposing). No; President Jackson did not consider force necessary to make the decision effective.

Miss ADDAMS. At any rate, it happens very seldom. There have been treaties made right along, which are being kept. It was very curious to me to note in England how men would get up and say that there was nothing in these international agreements, and in the next sentence they would say they were fighting Germany because she had broken a treaty with Belgium.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Miss Addams, there is the case of Belgium, where all the nations in the war to-day agreed among themselves to protect her, yet the treaties of the different nations have been entirely violated in regard to Belgium.

Miss ADDAMS. Yes, sir; one nation violated it, and the other part of the world is protesting against that in this war. England gave that as a reason for entering the war—that a treaty must be held so sacred that when it is violated the violator must be punished. However, I must say that I am afraid I am getting in deep water. Mrs. Mead is here, and she is much more expert on these matters than I am.

The CHAIRMAN. We all love peace and want it, but we see that all of these international agreements are violated whenever it suits the convenience of any of the signatory powers.

Miss ADDAMS. I suppose, though, it is very unusual to have one violated as has been done in the case of Belgium.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, take the declaration of London which protected business between the neutral powers and we find, so far as the United States is concerned, our commerce is seriously interfered with, and this declaration entirely disregarded.

Miss ADDAMS. I think the best thing that could be done would be to have some international regulation of the seas and of the rights of the nations.

Senator FLETCHER. Well, what would you do if one of the nations, a party to that agreement, should violate it?

Miss ADDAMS. I really believe that an economic boycott would be the proper means of enforcing obedience. It is a question with me whether an economic boycott could not have been effective and this war been averted.

Senator FLETCHER. Without firing a gun?

Miss ADDAMS. I am not justifying the present war. If there had been a proper international agreement, if the individual nations had been in the agreement, they certainly could have taken care of one recalcitrant nation.

Senator CATRON. Miss Addams, I did not hear all that you have said. I have just come in. What I should like to have you explain is this: Any nation is liable to get in trouble. Germany was in trouble. She got in trouble, but there are the other nations. What about them?

Miss ADDAMS. Well, France was defending her own territory, of course.

Senator CATRON. I am talking particularly about England. What about England?

Miss ADDAMS. I am not contending, Senator, that this war could have been averted; but I do say that such a world organization could be effected and treaties made to avert war.

Senator CATRON. But if France had not been very much prepared, what sort of condition would she have been in now?

Miss ADDAMS. Luxembourg was not prepared.

Senator CATRON. Yes, but Luxembourg has been absorbed and so has Alsace-Lorraine. If France had not been prepared, would not they have taken her too, and have dominated the French people?

Miss ADDAMS. But I do not see that our case is analogous to France. If we had an old enemy, that had been our enemy since 1872, located next door, with a frontier which could only be guarded by force and soldiers, then there might be some excuse for a large army, but we have no such situation in America.

Senator CATRON. I think we have.

Miss ADDAMS. I think, though, that we should wait until this danger arrives, and not be so influenced and terrorized by these disturbances in Europe.

Senator CATRON. Not any of us is secure from that.

Miss ADDAMS. We trust our Senators and Congressmen to keep us at peace, and our President.

Senator CATRON. He will not be able to judge what may happen in the future. I think it is better that we should get ready.

Miss ADDAMS (interposing). It seems to me that to get ready for a hypothetical enemy, which does not exist, and spend our people's money for something in the air, is absolutely wrong. I understand that the experts insist that the whole situation of Japan, for instance, has not been gone into at all; that we do not know what they want or what we want, and are not prepared to enter into any definite effective policy in reference to the Orient.

Senator CATRON. Well, if your theory is correct, don't you think we ought to disband our present Army?

Miss ADDAMS. Not at all.

Senator CATRON. Why?

Miss ADDAMS. In time of panic, like the present, we ought not to decide this matter one way or the other. We should sit tight and wait, and not prejudge this proportional disarmament or anything else which may take place at the end of the war.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Addams, you spoke awhile ago of Federal control of international relations, objecting to the States having anything to say about their domestic policy.

Miss ADDAMS. No, sir; only in regard to aliens.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about their internal relations. For instance, take California. Do you think that the California people—and I take that simply as an illustration—ought not to be permitted to say what their internal policies should be in reference to their children and the public schools, and in reference to child welfare in the State? Ought they to have nothing to do with those things at all?

Miss ADDAMS. That is all a matter for the State. What I said was in reference to aliens.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, take for instance, the case with Japan. Japan has been insisting that the Japanese children should be enrolled in the schools—this occurred during President Roosevelt's administration—that boys 18 and 20 years old should be admitted to the schools with children 8 or 12 years old. Now, don't you think the State should be allowed to regulate those things? They were aliens.

Miss ADDAMS. I think it would have been safer for our relations with Japan—they were aliens and not citizens of California—for the Federal Government to have handled that matter. If there had been a war as a result of that, the United States would have had to fight it. It would have been better to have referred that matter to the Commissioner of Immigration, a commission of immigration, or something of that kind, and have had the matter reported to Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you read Okuma's article published in the New York Sun of December 4, 1915, and reproduced in the Congressional Record on Monday last, concerning this Japanese situation and feeling?

Miss ADDAMS. I think one translation of an article from one statesman of a country should be taken with a grain of salt until it is found out what he really did say.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the premier of Japan and spoke for his Government.

Miss ADDAMS. I think we ought to get together and find what is in his mind, and not take a newspaper article. I believe it appeared in the New York Sun, if I am not mistaken.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Miss ADDAMS. I am inclined to hesitate a little before accepting things which appear in the newspapers. I have had experience enough with the newspapers to know that. You can not always trust them.

Senator THOMAS. You have our sympathy there.

Miss ADDAMS. Thank you. This is too great a question to be decided upon a newspaper article.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a little booklet out now, I am informed, containing excerpts from speeches made by Japanese statesmen, and published in a Japanese paper, giving their views unfriendly to our country. Would you insist on maintaining peace at any price?

Miss ADDAMS. Not at all. Germany, for instance, seems bent on crushing down all opposition. That is what I call "peace at any price." We are not after peace at any price. We pacifists are working for better conditions, and for a means of settling these disputes amicably and with justice to all concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not protest to the point of war in reference to the treatment of our commerce by Great Britain?

Miss ADDAMS. We have not gone to war, and it has been adjudicated, has it not?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Miss ADDAMS. It is being adjudicated.

The CHAIRMAN. They are trying to reach a conclusion in reference to it. There is a good deal of correspondence and not much else.

Miss ADDAMS. I would not go to war without having recourse to our last resort, and peace would come if men would just put their minds to it.

Senator CATRON. On both sides of the question.

Miss ADDAMS. Yes; that is the trouble.

SENATOR THOMAS. Is not that the crux of the situation?

Miss ADDAMS. Certain things make for good will, but certainly armies make for suspicion. Now, if a Japanese statesman says something in Japan, and that goes to the newspapers which may have an interest in coloring it, that statement when it reaches the people is bound to create suspicion.

Senator THOMAS. We have a good illustration of this matter over in the Orient; the attitude of a pacific nation, as opposed to the policy of a warlike nation. We see that in the present status between China and Japan. Now, I think it will be generally conceded that aggressions upon China by Japan have been entirely unjustified, and have been made because of the existence of the European war, so that no protest can come from outside sources. China certainly would never have submitted to the dictation of Japan to the extent she has submitted and have been in her absolutely helpless condition of to-day. She has virtually surrendered her sovereignty, and it is freely conceded that she will doubtless become a part of and under bondage to the Japanese Empire. Would that have been possible if China had been prepared? It came as the result of this worldwide cataclysm. Has not China, in consequence of her pacific policy, been placed practically in slavery, politically and commercially, to a smaller but better prepared and warlike nation?

Miss ADDAMS. I think it is quite possible that when the international turmoil shall subside, some sort of an arrangement such as I have suggested looking toward the establishment of an international police, will be effected, and that Japan may be forced to withdraw from China.

Senator THOMAS. That will mean war, will it not? It will mean that some warlike demonstration will have to be made to compel Japan to desist.

Miss ADDAMS. It will more likely be a matter of treaty, like the other one.

Senator THOMAS. If the threat is made by other nations to Japan that unless she retires from China they will compel her, and if made without a prepared force behind it, what benefit would it be?

Miss ADDAMS. Well, China can be used for illustrative purposes both ways. She has survived thousands of years. She is the oldest country in the world, and has kept intact all these years; and yet has never had an army through all these years, while other countries have risen and fallen.

Senator THOMAS. But in the great portion of that time the other nations have had no standing armies.

Miss ADDAMS. Europe has had standing armies.

Senator THOMAS. China was not surrounded by armed forces until within recent years, and then Russia came, as a great armed force to the north.

Miss ADDAMS. They were fighting Tartars during all of that time.

Senator THOMAS. Oh, they were desultory. They were not the result of great big military policies backed by standing armies.

Miss ADDAMS. The point I make is that the international forces having intervened in China once, they might well do so again. Mrs. Mead, I am afraid I will have to ask your help in this matter.

Senator THOMAS. I am not trying to embarrass you, because I am in sympathy with the views you express.

Miss ADDAMS. Yes, sir; but I think China is in a peculiar situation—

Senator THOMAS. You invited the questions, however.

Miss ADDAMS. Oh, yes; but Mrs. Mead is very conversant with these matters. I am not crying for help.

Senator BROUSSARD. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a few questions?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Senator BROUSSARD. Miss Addams, will you kindly tell us your views on the situation of Korea to-day; what effect the thing which you predict may happen in behalf of China, if her fate should be the same as Korea—what effect the relations which have existed between Russia and Japan since the Russo-Japanese war have had in regard to restoring the sovereignty of Korea to its people. I ask this merely with a view of getting your point of view.

Miss ADDAMS. I think the fact that Korea was not armed and lost her sovereignty is not conclusive in this affair. Montenegro, armed to the teeth, has lost her sovereignty. Persia is losing her sovereignty. A nation's international standing depends somewhat on the integrity of the nation, and the good will of the other nations in preserving some sort of concert among the nations.

Senator BROUSSARD. This is not with a view of embarrassing you, but for information. I do not want to see our country dragged into the European conflict at all. I am talking now about the Orient. Here was Korea virtually unprepared and not a party to the Russo-Japanese War any more than China was, yet China is suffering more than Japan or Russia, and Korea lost everything she had. Now, getting back to the situation which we were discussing a while ago. As I understood, it had to do with the intervention of the world powers; that if the European conflict were over—and this is in answer to Senator Chamberlain's question—even though China should do something to Japan, that these powers would intervene and give her back what she has lost. Now, my question is this, and it is put to find out what your point of view is: In the many years of peace which have existed since the termination of the war between Russia and Japan, Korea, having found no civilized nation in the Orient or

in the Occident that has been willing to speak a word for her sovereignty, has been absorbed and swallowed up as the result of a war in which she had no interest and to which she was not a party. Is not that an example to us to show that the unprepared nation is in danger of being absorbed by the prepared nation and nobody has a word to say after the absorption?

Miss ADDAMS. Other countries which have been prepared have been absorbed in the same way. I think it is most unfortunate that the integrity of Korea was lost, but Poland was lost although she fought to the last gasp. Other countries have been lost although they fought. My proposition is that preparedness does not affect it at all.

Senator THOMAS. You believe that if they are going to be lost, they will be lost?

Miss ADDAMS. We claim that nations with the biggest armies and navies do not always come out ahead. The situation is more or less analogous. If Belgium is restored she will be restored by the international arrangements of Europe and not by armies. My contention is that it has not been marked that the unprepared nation loses, versus the prepared nation. I wish Mrs. Mead would say something on this subject.

STATEMENT OF MRS. EDWIN D. MEAD.

Mrs. MEAD. It seems to me the main point which really interests the American people is not being touched upon in the newspapers at all. The question which is being touched upon in the newspapers is the one which was put before the technicians. The technicians were asked what could be done, and what was necessary to bring our nation up to the basis of the most efficient. It was a mathematical problem and they answered it. That is not the problem which should interest the American people. It seems to me there is just one thing which interests us, and that is what is our danger; because our defenses must be arranged according to our danger and not according to our coast line. British America has an enormous coast line, but that does not mean danger. China has a population ten times as great as France, but that does not mean that China must therefore be ten times as great a nation. A nation with wealth has the sinews of war. It is not any one of those things usually presented—that is, length of coast line or size of population or wealth. There is just one specific thing and that is the particular nation's danger. Now, our danger is not Serbia's danger, nor Belgium's danger, nor any other nation's danger; and it seems to me that in the emotional shock which the American people have had, they have lost sight of proportions. It seems to me very much like a city like Berlin, the best built city in the world, looking over on the worst built city in the world, New York. They have twenty times as many fire engines in New York, and is it logical for Berlin on that account to reach the conclusion that she should have the same number? It is very much like a nation that has a smooth coast line as compared with one with a rough and rocky coast line. Is it logical to suppose that the nation with this rocky, rough and unapproachable coast line should have the same defenses as the nation with the smooth coast line? That is just the situation we are in.

Our people are talking about other countries' dangers as if they were our own Nation's dangers.

Now, the United States is unique. It is one of the most safe, if not the safest Nation in the world, although it has one of the smallest armies, simply from the fact that it has nonmilitary defenses which no other nation has. We have to the north of us nearly four thousand miles of border line which has kept the peace for a hundred years, and will keep it for six thousand years, unless we try to emulate Great Britain's Navy and become a rival of it. The treaty which we entered into with Great Britain in 1887 has practically made the British Navy one of our assets. No other nation in the world has that. We are the only ones, the only powers in the world, that have such an arrangement between two great nations.

Another thing, the rapidity with which they can transport men from Europe to this country is not nearly so great as has been recently said. They may be able to transport men quickly when it comes to sending them to countries contiguously located, but it is not true when it means transporting men by vessels to distant shores. It is only those people who are carried away by the lurid pictures which have been drawn, who have been unduly influenced by this spread of emotionalism. We have seen reports from the technicians stating that they can get their troop ships over in 23 days. It may be possible that troop ships may cross the ocean in that time; but when you consider that they must go from Hamburg to Bremen, and get those men on board ship, and coal the ships, etc.—and there are some German battleships which can not go more than one thousand miles without being recoaled, and then proceed through the German Sea and the British Channel and then across the ocean, it is certain that it will take them at least two months; and therefore we are safe in counting on at least two months' warning of any such attempt. It has been calculated that it would take, in order to get 1,000,000 Germans on our shores, 900 vessels and two months' time.

Senator THOMAS. That is, if there were no storms or fogs on the ocean.

Mrs. MEAD. If there were no such thing as a British Navy and no such thing as an American Navy; but, under existing circumstances, I think we are safe in saying that no nation in the world 2,000 miles from our coast could successfully carry out such an expedition.

I suggest that we study and consider the specific conditions and dangers, and analyze them, and see wherein they exist, and see whether it is not really a lurid picture which we have had presented to us, which has had no foundation behind it.

Take now, for instance, Germany. Let us assume, as they are assuming, that she might be victorious. If she is victorious, she is going to be practically bankrupt. She, of course, is going to try to get the Allies to yield and pay an indemnity. She will be left, however, without any more indemnity than was Japan. She will have, probably, land, the Belgian Congo and the other Belgian colonies, if she is victorious. That means she will be simply so land poor that she can not begin to hold down the land that she has, to say nothing of seeking to make a new enemy across the ocean and trying to steal land from someone else. She will not want to attack us as

a Nation, because she can only get lands from us. She is looking to us as possibly the only friend she has. And when we ask ourselves how she can physically perform the act of coming over here and attacking us we will have to say that she must leave herself exposed and divide her fleet, and it will be a physical impossibility. No great nation has ever gone across the oceans to attack another great civilized nation. Great Britain tried to conquer 50,000 Boers, and it took two years and many million dollars.

Now, coming to consider this specific proposition, this matter of an international alliance looking to the establishment of a boycott on recalcitrant nations, and referring particularly to this matter of China, this boycott of course contemplates the telegraph and every other means of communication; and I believe that that boycott, even for a nation like China, is going to be one of the most powerful weapons in the world. You remember that when there was a drastic boycott on the cotton merchants of America President Roosevelt had to telegraph out to California and have a revision made of the alien law. I know how Japan is suffering to-day from the boycott established by the Chinese merchants. When we have China developing coal and iron mines, and when the polytechnic students go back and develop her, and when we remember the situation Japan was in only 50 years ago, then we can imagine what a powerful weapon this will be in the hands of China with her 400,000,000 people.

In addition I might say that we have hitherto provided for no sanctions. In the case of Belgium there has been no recognized sanction; it has been left open. In our international law we are going to see the need of a specific sanction. It seems to me we are going to find that this nonintercourse is going to be infinitely more powerful than the short-lived battleship. We spend \$18,000,000 on a battleship which may be blown up in five minutes by submarines. This measure is going to cost us nothing but a boycott. If such co-operation in the form of concerted drastic nonintercourse is carried out to the extent of cutting off all passports, copyrights, and patents, and cutting off all railroad and shipping connections, cutting off absolutely the telegraph and postal connections, it will be a more effective weapon than we have ever dreamed of in that it will leave that nation absolutely alone, and no nation has ever as yet stood absolutely alone. Even the central nations of Europe, which are cut off to some extent to-day, have been receiving enormous supplies from the smaller nations of Switzerland and Denmark, and Sweden and Holland, and up to last May, through Italy. But if this coercion can be carried out we will see many advantages. For example, we have been paying \$250,000,000 for the Army and Navy; we are asked now to so increase it that we shall pay in the next 5 years an increase 40 times as great as the naval increase that was made in Germany in the 5 years previous to this war. Now, if we can have an equally effective coercion, a coercion which will be felt in the farthest hamlet where anyone who wants to send a telegram or a letter, will not be allowed to send it, we are going to get every man and woman in that country opposed to the Government if that Government be not fighting in self-defense, but merely fighting stubbornly because it wants to break its pledge to other nations. We are now seeing every nation in Europe fighting desperately because each one believes

it is fighting absolutely for its self-defense, but you can not get people to lay down their lives and to support their Government when it is suspected that it is not keeping its word.

In closing I might say that I doubt if any nation in the world will ever believe that we want this awful unprecedented increase in our Army and Navy for defensive purposes. It will simply arouse their suspicion and accomplish no good purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other ladies who have anything to say to the committee?

Miss ADDAMS. We have a great many eloquent ladies here. We have Mrs. Thomas, who is our executive secretary. She is a Tennessee woman by birth and a Chicagoan by marriage.

STATEMENT OF MRS. WILLIAM I. THOMAS.

Mrs. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I have been throughout the country rather widely in connection with my duties as secretary of The Woman's Peace Party, and I have been very much interested to find out what the attitude of the people everywhere was toward governments in general, and I have been very much pleased that the American people have not lost confidence in their Government, and that they are looking to our particular Government to devise some machinery and some means by which we may remain safe, by keeping outside of this terrible conflagration which is destroying Europe to-day. I find the people have grown quite philosophical in the 17 months that have elapsed since the war began, and people are beginning all over the world to say, "What is civilization after all?" We talk about "civilization," but it has collapsed in Europe, and it seems to me that everywhere people are beginning to realize that this thing we are calling civilization is just a long process of control which man has been building up. We see it in connection with the wonderful control man has been able to exercise over the material forces in the universe. He has made them obey his will. It is a control which man has been exercising over these brutal forces which exist in his own nation, and we have an example of that in the social structure in which we live to-day. A man said a long time ago that the history of the world is just a record of the uplifting of man; and I feel the people everywhere, in their philosophizing are beginning to say that their government is just a part of this wonderful invention which man has been exercising, giving him control. But they are seeing now and realizing now that our progress along the line of government has lapsed—it has fallen behind, at least; and they are demanding that steps be taken to preserve it, that these interests that represent the people shall develop some inventive process. And that is just what we pacifists are doing. I have encountered them throughout the country. Everywhere they understand what a pacifist is. A pacifist is simply a person who is aiding in a great emotional crisis, demanding that we be not emotional. They are the people who are trying to remind the men of the world, who have the affairs of the world in their keeping, that these splendid and precious values built up in the long process of civilization utterly shall be preserved and be recognized as intellectual values and not emotional values. These people send you a message, almost a challenge, that you now who have the affairs of

the Government in hand, invent other methods and use the functions of the Government to achieve some new kind of machinery by which these great and precious and splendid values may be preserved for other countries at large.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other ladies who wish to be heard?

Miss ADDAMS. There is Miss De Graff, who is here from your own State, Senator. She has just landed from the Ford peace ship expedition. After she has spoken, there will be nothing else.

The CHAIRMAN. We will close with her.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you suppose the lady can report that peace prevailed upon the Ford ship? [Laughter.]

STATEMENT OF MISS GRACE DE GRAFF.

Miss DE GRAFF. I certainly can, Mr. Chairman. I can also say that the company were very favorably received by the people of Christiana, and even more so in Stockholm, because they knew from what had been said and done in Christiana what had been the motives which had prompted these people to go forth on the mission they had undertaken; and I think there is a very big and widespread sentiment among those people for peace, and while they can not go out, perhaps, and talk it as openly as the people of the United States, because they are very near the belligerent countries, I think they feel it more keenly than we.

I had it told me, coming on home on the ship, by two Englishmen, who said, "Militarism is destroyed in Europe." That seems to be the sentiment among the English people; and if that is true, there is no need of great preparations on this side on our part. I think they would feel it most keenly if they saw that our Nation was preparing even more than they had been prepared, because they see the result of preparedness and are suffering from it. Of course, their sufferings, in a way, are just beginning, and they are realizing that more and more each day. I think that is all in which you will be interested.

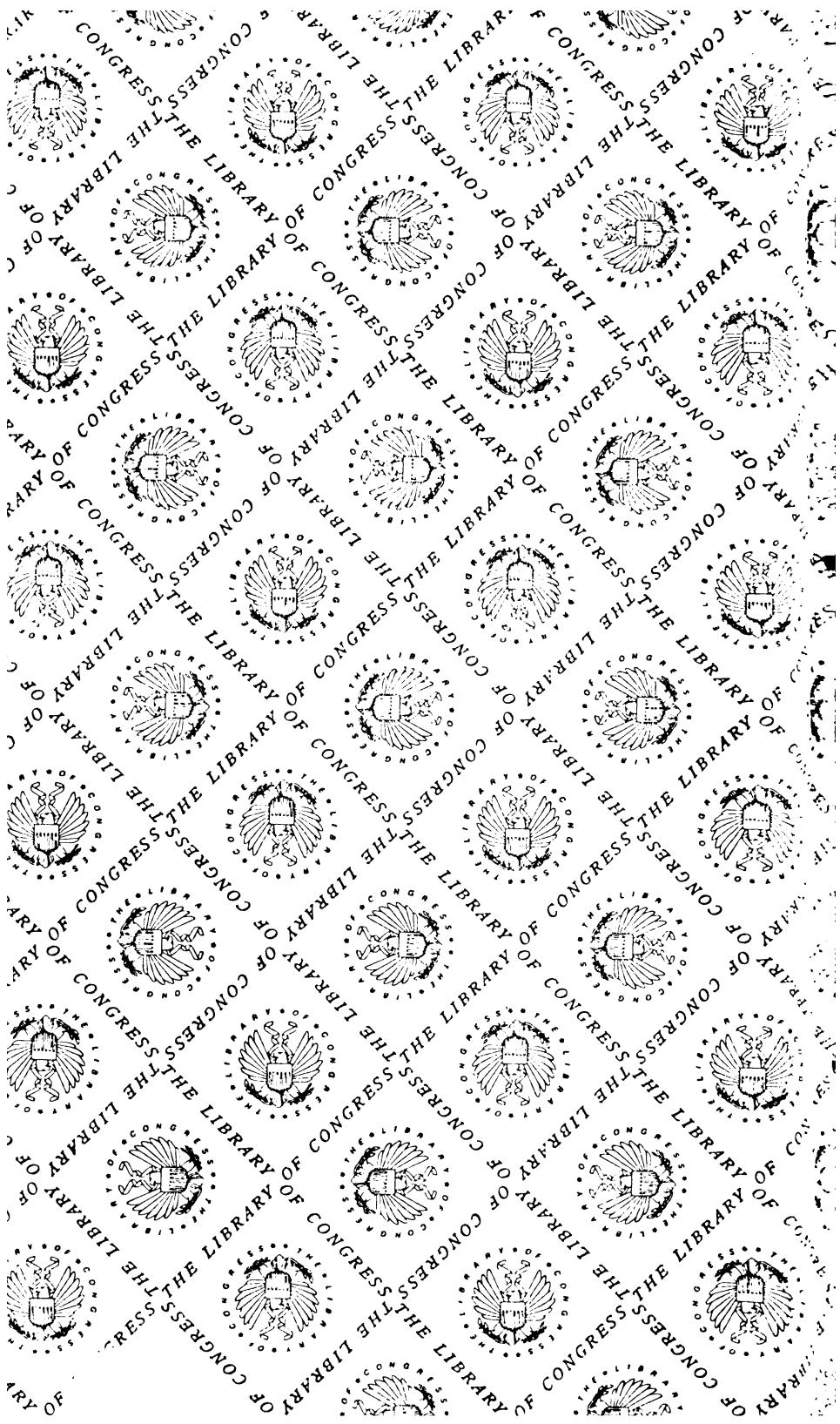
Miss ADDAMS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well; the hearing stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 4.35 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned.)

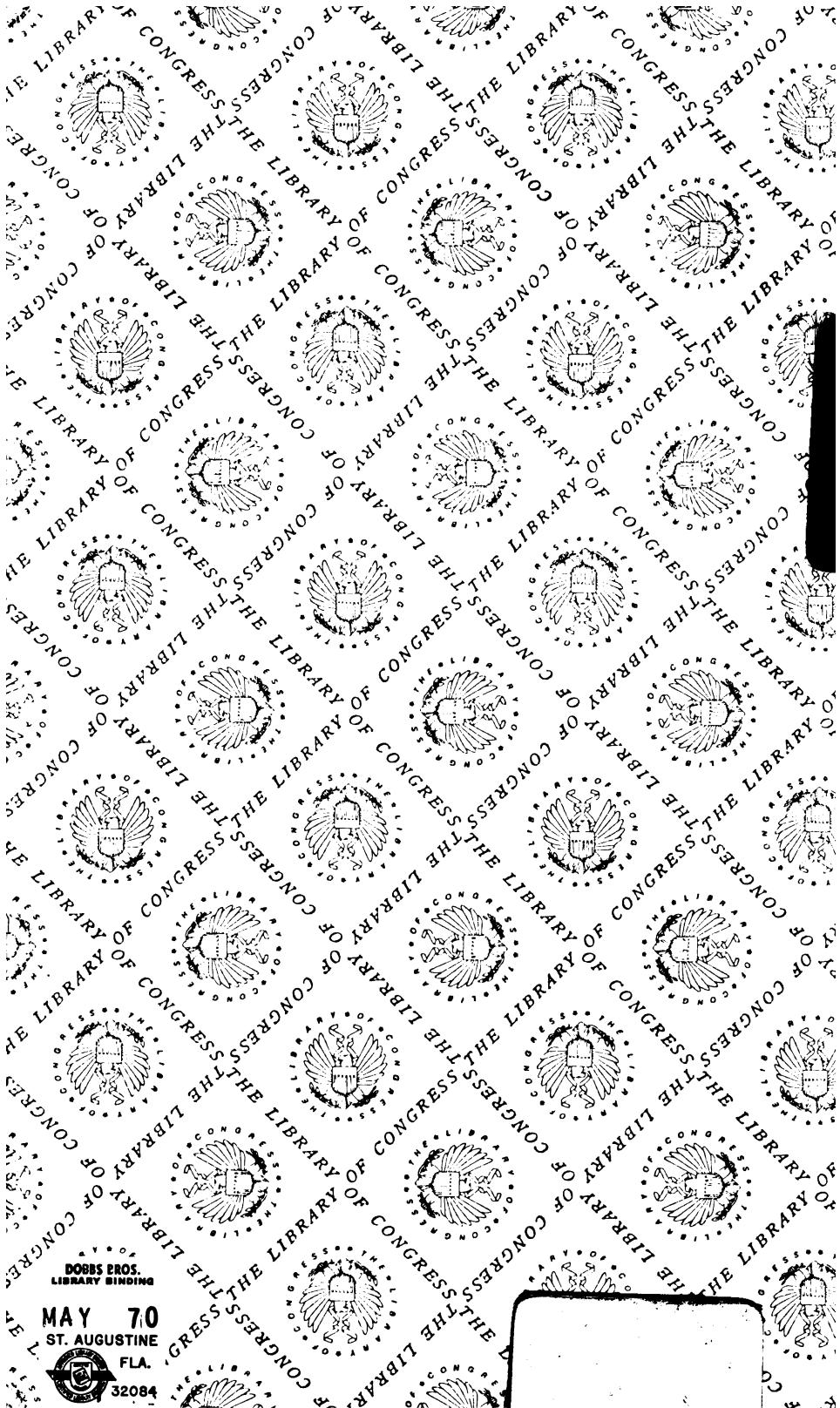
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